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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-NINTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Tuesday, 30 March 1993, at 12.10 p.m.

President:	Mr. O'BRIEN	(New Zealand)
Members:	Brazil	Mr. ARAUJO CASTRO
	Cape Verde	Mr. PEREIRA
	China	Mr. CHEN Jian
	Djibouti	Mr. OLHAYE
	France	Mr. LADSOUS
	Hungary	Mr. ERDOS
	Japan	Mr. MARUYAMA
	Morocco	Mr. BENJELLOUN-TOUIMI
	Pakistan	Mr. MARKER
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	Spain	Mr. PEDAUYE
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Ms. ALBRIGHT
	Venezuela	Mr. ARRIA

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The meeting was called to order at 12.40 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL PURSUANT TO SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 807 (1993) (S/25470 and Add.1)

The PRESIDENT: I have received a letter from the representative of Croatia, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Nobilo (Croatia) took a place at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General pursuant to Security Council resolution 807 (1993), which is contained in document S/25470 and Add.1.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/25481, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's consultations.

(The President)

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following documents: S/25350, S/25454 and S/25477, letters dated 1 March, 22 March and 26 March 1993, repectively, the first from the Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Croatia to the United Nations and the latter two from the Permanent Representative of Croatia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; S/25447, letter dated 19 March 1993 from the Permanent Representative of Croatia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General; S/25381 and S/25382, letters dated 8 March 1993 from the Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Yugoslavia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General; and S/25449, letter dated 22 March 1993 from the Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Yugoslavia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that that is the case.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

Before putting the draft resolution to the vote, I shall call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. LADSOUS (France) (interpretation from French): Something over a month ago, when the Council considered the question of renewing the mandate of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), my delegation put forward two priority considerations which remain unchanged today: to guarantee better security for the Force, which, in extremely difficult circumstances, is carrying out its mission in an exemplary way; and to take account of the

(Mr. Ladsous, France)

exceptional conditions and of a particularly changeable diplomatic and military context. The first consideration prompted us to advocate recourse to Chapter VII of the Charter and to provisions of a technical kind. The second consideration dictated renewal of the Force's mandate for a limited period.

That remains valid today, and we therefore welcome the draft resolution on which we are about to take action because it responds to that dual imperative. It strengthens the recourse to Chapter VII by extending it to the question of UNPROFOR's freedom of movement. At the same time, the draft resolution extends the Force's mandate for an interim period and provides for the Council's reconsideration, within a month, of the situation of the Force and, if necessary, to draw the appropriate conclusions.

Without doubt, we are at a turning-point in the history of UNPROFOR. In the weeks to come the Council will certainly have to take important decisions, whatever the outcome of the negotiations conducted by the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia. Should they succeed - and we earnestly hope they will - we shall need to work for the implementation of the peace plan; we shall have to focus our efforts on the situation in Croatia as well as in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in Macedonia. The Council will need to retain a comprehensive approach, and the principle of a unified theatre will have to be maintained from both the political and the military points of view. Moreover, United Nations authority over all the peace-keeping operations in the former Yugoslavia must be preserved.

Should the fighting continue, a whole series of very firm measures will have to be considered and implemented. Those decisions could include the use

(Mr. Ladsous, France)

of all necessary means to strengthen the monitoring of the embargo, or even the adoption of new measures; the deployment or reinforcement of observers on the Bosnian-Croatian border; the broadening of the application of Chapter VII when the mandate of the Force is next renewed; or even, if the situation calls for it, the partial or total withdrawal of the Force.

(Mr. Ladsous, France)

The parties concerned must, however, know that the Council will continue to act with determination. On the ground, UNPROFOR must be aware of our commitment to guarantee the security of its missions.

Lastly, the principle of respect for Croatia's territorial integrity must be solemnly established. The French delegation welcomes the fact that the whole Council shares this approach, as the draft resolution we are about to adopt shows.

Mr. PEDAUYE (Spain) (interpretation from Spanish): I wish to begin by expressing my delegation's gratitude to the Secretary-General for the report (S/25470 and Add.1) he has submitted to us pursuant to resolution 807 (1993).

We are about to extend the mandate of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) when there still persist fundamental differences between the positions of the representatives of the Government of Croatia and of the Serbian populations living in the United Nations Protected Areas and the pink zones.

As the Secretary-General says in his report, more time will be needed for the negotiations to be brought to a meaningful conclusion, and UNPROFOR's presence in Croatia continues to be an essential stabilizing factor.

We must also bear in mind that the extension of UNPROFOR's mandate will affect the future of the Force in the other Republics where it is deployed, and that the situation, above all in Bosnia and Herzegovina, is still fluid and uncertain.

The deployment of UNPROFOR in Bosnia and Herzegovina helps to alleviate the desperate humanitarian situation afflicting that Republic. In that connection, my delegation would point out that the Spanish infantry battalion assigned to UNPROFOR has so far escorted about 400 convoys organized by the

(Mr. Pedauye, Spain)

Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), covering long distances by road in very difficult and dangerous conditions and making possible the delivery of some 20,000 tons of humanitarian aid, a large part of all the humanitarian relief distributed in that Republic.

In this context, my country fully agrees with the Secretary-General that UNPROFOR's mandate should be extended for a further interim period of three months, and therefore my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution.

Furthermore, and in order to emphasize the interim nature of this extension, in view of the circumstances I have just mentioned, we believe that the Security Council should reconsider UNPROFOR's mandate in a month's time, or at any time at the Secretary-General's request, in the light of developments in the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia and the situation on the ground.

Finally, my delegation would like to emphasize that, in accordance with the recommendation in paragraph 5 of the Secretary-General's report of 25 March, all UNPROFOR activities will be incorporated in the United Nations budget for a period of three months beginning on 1 April 1993. Thus the deployment of UNPROFOR in Bosnia and Herzegovina will no longer be funded by the unusual method employed so far; all UNPROFOR activities in the former Yugoslavia will be financed in the normal manner - that is, by assessments on the peace-keeping scale levied on all Member States.

The PRESIDENT: I shall now put the draft resolution to the vote.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Brazil, Cape Verde, China, Djibouti, France, Hungary, Japan, Morocco, New Zealand, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela

The PRESIDENT: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has therefore been adopted unanimously as resolution 815 (1993).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. ERDOS (Hungary) (interpretation from French): Hungary voted in favour of resolution 815 (1993), even though it is not capable of giving us the important answers we await to resolve the situation in Croatia. The resolution cannot yet give us precise indications of the tasks that the United Nations will have to bear in the future in the settlement of the crisis of the former Yugoslavia.

We regret to have to note, as was the case during the adoption a few weeks ago of resolution 807 (1993), another postponement of the definitive formulation of the mandate of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR). That is because of continuing differences between the positions of the parties concerned and because conditions on the ground that would promote success in the current negotiations are lacking.

UNPROFOR has recently had to deal with unprecedented situations which have enlarged its field of action. We pay tribute to its personnel, who, in increasingly difficult conditions, demanding cool-headedness and courage, have done everything necessary to carry out its duties on the ground. I wish particularly to mention the exceptional actions of General Morillon,

(Mr. Erdos, Hungary)

Commander-in-Chief of UNPROFOR in Bosnia and Herzegovina, who, with his personal courage and sense of justice, has shown invaluable solidarity with the civilian populations mercilessly attacked, starved and besieged in eastern Bosnia. We are convinced that his actions will go down in the history of United Nations peace-keeping operations and will live in the memory of the Bosnian people.

After the adoption of today's resolution, efforts must continue relentlessly to settle questions relating to UNPROFOR's mandate. This will have to be done in the light of developments in the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia and the situation on the ground. In this regard, we are at a critical stage, of crucial importance for the future of settlement plans for various parts of the former Yugoslav federation. In this context, there was recently a major step in the right direction, with an event that we welcomed in this Chamber, in the presence of the President of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

We do not regard the resolution adopted today as merely a technical extension of UNPROFOR's mandate for another, interim three-month period. The resolution once again affirms that any future mandate, whatever it may be, must be based on respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Croatia, and that the United Nations Protected Areas are an integral part of the territory of the Republic of Croatia. The Security Council is thus once again clearly establishing the framework in which the parties in conflict in Croatia will have to continue political negotiations.

(Mr. Erdös, Hungary)

Security Council resolution 815 (1993) is not exclusively technical in nature, for it also makes it possible to speed up the work designed to implement effectively the United Nations peace plan for Croatia. We believe that the time is ripe to devise, parallel with the continuation of political negotiations, measures to enhance trust between the two sides which would most certainly be well received by all of the civilian population living in the regions in question. Such measures would be aimed at re-establishing normal living conditions in those regions and restoring essential services to meet the needs of the civilian population. Those measures could include the revamping of some aspects of infrastructure, such as the major road networks, the electricity system, the Adria oil pipeline and so on. These could be the subject of thorough study before the end of the one-month period mentioned in the resolution and could lead to a reconsideration of the UNPROFOR mandate along the lines, among other things, of specific assistance that the Blue Berets could lend to these operations.

Such measures would be extremely useful for restoring confidence in the future. They would make this interim period more tolerable and would point towards the advent of a qualitative change in the situation, which would in no way prejudge the positions of the parties at the negotiating table. Such developments could also have positive effects in terms of full respect for human rights, international humanitarian law and especially the rights of national minorities and harmonious coexistence, in the future, of different ethnic communities.

Hungary would like to express its fervent hope that in the near future the international community will be able, with the very desirable cooperation of the parties to the conflict, to make a decisive contribution leading to the restoration of peace in the regions where UNPROFOR is deployed and the

(Mr. Erdös, Hungary)

start-up of a major United Nations operation aimed at ensuring security, stablity and the achievement of a just a lasting settlement in that region of the world.

Ms. ALBRIGHT (United States of America): We welcome the adoption of the resolution extending the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) mandate to 30 June 1993. We recognize that the men and women of UNPROFOR are doing their best in a difficult situation to contain the fighting and to create conditions that could lead to the peaceful resolution of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia.

That being said, United Nations efforts, unfortunately, have not been totally successful at achieving their goals. In Croatia, for example, the inability of UNPROFOR to implement the United Nations peace-keeping plan has been partially responsible for the renewal of fighting. That is why the Council is now acting to create conditions for the complete implementation of that plan.

We also believe it important to stress that the United Nations protected areas "are integral parts of the territory of the Republic of Croatia". (resolution 815 (1993), para. 5) No amount of "ethnic cleansing" by the parties to the conflict will change that fact.

Finally, we call on all parties to the conflict throughout the former Yugoslavia to respect international humanitarian law and to comply with all relevant Security Council resolutions.

Mr. MARKER (Pakistan): My delegation welcomes the Security Council's adoption of resolution 815 (1993), which, inter alia, reaffirms its commitment to ensure respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Croatia and the other Republics where the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) is deployed. We take note of the resolution's paragraph 3, which states that the Council will "reconsider", within a period of 30 days,

(Mr. Marker, Pakistan)

"UNPROFOR's mandate in light of developments of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia and the situation on the ground". (resolution 815 (1993), para. 3)

In this context my delegation expresses its deep appreciation for the fact that the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Bosnian Croat side have now signed all the documents of the Vance-Owen peace plan. The Council should now take all appropriate steps to ensure that the Bosnian Serb side accepts the peace plan without further delay, thus paving the way for the re-establishment of peace with justice and respect for human rights in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

I cannot conclude this statement without paying my delegation's warmest tribute to the splendid work performed by UNPROFOR in the most difficult of circumstances.

Mr. ARAUJO CASTRO (Brazil): Brazil welcomes the adoption by the Security Council of resolution 815 (1993).

The situation in many parts of the territory of the former Yugoslavia, where the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) is currently deployed, is still critical, and much remains to be done in the context of the peace talks and by the United Nations, and mainly by the peoples directly involved, before peace can be restored in that region.

My delegation takes this opportunity to pay tribute to the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, Mr. Vance and Lord Owen, whose untiring dedication and diplomatic skills led to the assembly of a broad and well-crafted peace package, which constitutes the best hope for attaining a negotiated solution to the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We share the hope that the remaining party may soon agree to that package so that work can start on its full implementation.

(Mr. Araujo Castro, Brazil)

With the resolution we have just adopted, which extends the mandate of UNPROFOP until 30 June 1993, the Security Council takes a limited but important step forward in demonstrating the continued commitment of the international community to the achievement of a lasting peace in all of the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

Brazil contributes personnel to UNPROFOR and attaches special importance to the fact that in the resolution adopted today the Security Council reiterates its determination to ensure the security of UNPROFOR and its freedom of movement. Under most trying and dangerous circumstances, UNPROFOR personnel have given inspiring examples of courage and dedication.

We welcome the flexible time frame chosen with regard to UNPROFOR's mandate, which provides for its possible review at any time in the light of developments in the peace talks and the situation on the ground. The desirability of this approach is evident, particularly taking into account the sensitivity of the present stage of negotiations regarding the situation in both Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In the next weeks the Security Council will probably be called upon to take further important decisions in relation to the former Yugoslavia. It is our hope that those decisions, like the one we have taken today, will play a positive role in assisting the peoples now at war to rediscover the path to peace and tolerance.

Mr. CHEN Jian (China) (interpretation from Chinese): Since the Security Council adopted resolution 807 (1993), which extended UNPROFOR's mandate for an interim period, armed conflict in the former Yugoslavia has continued and the plight of the people continues. For this we express our deep concern and sympathy.

(Mr. Chen Jian, China)

The Chinese delegation agrees with the analysis made by the Secretary-General in the report he submitted pursuant to Security Council resolution 807 (1993). We also agree with the Secretary-General's recommendation that the UNPROFOR mandate be extended for three more months. We support the principles contained in the resolution, particularly that of ensuring the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Croatia.

The Chinese delegation supports the main thrust of the resolution the Security Council has just adopted and voted in favour of it. However, the Chinese delegation would like to reiterate its reservations concerning the applicability of Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. It is our view that the application of Chapter VII is due to the special and specific needs of Croatia and should not constitute a precedent for the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations. It is our hope that, in the coming three months, all sides concerned will actively cooperate with and support the efforts made by the two Co-Chairmen and that, through full consultation and negotiation, they will resolve their existing differences so that real progress can be made towards a peaceful solution of the question of the former Yugoslavia.

The PRESIDENT: There are no further speakers inscribed on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.